2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of this interesting language-island, within the language-island of Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters-in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[192] embroidering, and I had filled several pages of my notebook when her attention was diverted by the cow she was minding. It had plunged down a 6-foot wall and was enjoying itself in a neighbour's ripening crop. "Excuse me," said Gohir Nimo, "having smitten the cow I shall come back." She did, and we resumed the lesson. I took the needle and ventured on a few stitches. "Oh, you can sew like us!" she exclaimed with surprise. There were so many everyday things I could not do just like them that her surprise was justified. Soon I noticed her growing restive: "I haven't yet had my morning bread; I expect you had yours before you came out. Good-bye." As she left me, chivvying her cow homewards, I looked round for new occupation, and saw old grandfather of No. 7 climbing cautiously down a field wall with a shapeless bundle under his arm. I worked my way across country to the empty field he had made for, to see what was toward and found to my delight that he was getting his loom into order. Moth had played some havoc with his heddle threads and a finicky job he had to replace them. When this was done he called a son or two to help him to lay out the warp. They set up and steadied the loom with stones, then drove a peg into the ground so many cubits off. One of the assistants made fast one end and then paid out the wool from a fat ball of doubled thread, slung it round the peg, and brought it back to grandfather, who attached it with an ingenious knot that defied my analysis, and off went another loop round the distant peg. When these preliminaries were over, for which the flat space of the open field was necessary, the old man assembled his loom again and climbed up the wall to set it up in his pit and get to work. Hunza homespun is of a most beautiful thick quality, as unlike as possible to the loose, semi-transparent cloth that hand-weavers at home achieve, a stuff that would not withstand the hard wear of Hunza fields for an instant. Two hundred and forty warp threads go to the width of 9 or 10 inches of cloth.

The tiny pit is almost square—2 feet by 2 feet 9 inches—and just 2 feet deep; the sides of it are revetted inside with small stones on the model of the field walls and edged at the top with a wooden kerb, fitted with holes into which pegs can be in-

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

"another child of my father and mother, of the same sex as I myself." A second word denotes a boy's sister; a third, a girl's brother. Just to prevent your feeling too sure of things, a boy will address a much older sister out of deference as "my brother." When chattering to my children friends I often provoked delighted chuckles by inadvertently saying the equivalent of: "is that little boy your sister?"

The same sort of differentiation is carried into several other relationships. It does not simplify the tracing out in haste of complicated family genealogies which was one of David's little tasks. My *cousin*, if our two fathers are brothers, is usually described as *my brother* or *my sister*, unless it is necessary to be more explicit; whereas a cousin not reared in the same house has a name to him- or herself. An *uncle* who is my father's brother is *big father*, *little father*, or *middle father* according to his relative age, while my mother's brother is an uncle.

One relationship word the Burusho have for which we might well devise an English equivalent. If young Mr. Smith marries young Miss Jones, what relationship exists between the parent Smiths and Joneses? (Amongst us, carefully dissembled hostility, of course.) Burushaski has a special and convenient term for what is amongst them this very real tie of friendship and alliance between the houses. If the Jones family are extra busy or short-handed, the Smiths will come along to lend a hand, or vice versa.

It is a common error of the uninitiate to take for granted that people of a primitive material culture will have a limited and easily mastered vocabulary. As all serious language-students know, the reverse is the case. Burushaski would no doubt be found to lack our large supply of terms—mostly non-English—to express philosophical ideas or aesthetic appreciation, though it would from its own rich resources be perfectly capable of creating them without borrowing at second-hand, if anyone could spare time from the urgencies of living to indulge in the futilities of philosophy or aesthetics; but it is rich beyond belief in verb-concepts and in concrete words denoting crops and buds and fruits at every stage of growth, implements of

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

every kind, fields of every shape, size, height, and aspect. Domestic animals are differentiated by separate words to the nth degree. A mere *sheep* scarcely exists. A convenient word, for which there is no English equivalent, means "one head of small cattle, whether sheep or goat"; after that you must be more specific and make it clear whether you wish to designate the female lamb not yet weaned, the ewe who has not yet lambed, the ewe who has been once to the *tér*, or the ewe who has been twice, the unweaned male lamb, the one-year old castrated ram, the entire ram who has not yet sired, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. And a queer fool you seem if you fail to distinguish animals so different. Similarly with all other stock, the goats having special extra titles according to whether their horns spread out or more conveniently turn in.

There is, of course, no general *basket*: the large, open-ribbed one that carries dry leaves or straw is a totally different object from the small round basket with a handle in which you take a few eggs or apricots, or again from the shoulder-basket that serves all the purposes of our wheelbarrow. These explicit words save all need for circumlocutions like soiled-linen basket, picnic basket, wastepaper basket of ou reluusier analytic speech.

Every peg and hook and gadget that forms a component part of loom or lathe, mill or sluice, has its own appropriate technical name for which no other name will do. The haughty armchair ignoramus who discourses about the limited vocabulary of the agriculturist would probably be surprised if he worked a while on a farm, at the manifold resources of a whole stratum of the English language that lay outside his ken and confounded his reckoning.

The rich variety of nouns in Burushaski is nothing, however, to the wealth and flexibility of its verbs. The Burusho would seem to think primarily in verbs, the precise meaning of which is a more elusive thing to grasp. Our simple adjective *cold* is, for instance, represented in Burushaski by the past participle of a verb meaning *to cool off, to become cold*. A verb that one day you pin down to meaning "to turn off" the water from a field, staggers you the next by obviously meaning "to

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

192 turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

195 All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

805 Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dádo had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

192 920 Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said: "You know So and So's,

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

it is on the Dála." "No, no, it is on the Middle Channel." For a moment I was puzzled, for the house, in fact, sat exactly on the upper bank of the Dála, but of course watered its fields and drew its water from the channel *above*: the essential fact to a Hunza mind.

Though their technical vocabulary is so exact, the Hunzukuts are only human, and occasionally like ourselves take refuge in "thingumabob," "what you may call it," and "bandobast." They have coined an invaluable word which for fun I wrote "Alice." I found it was quite in order to say: "We are nearly out of charcoal, tell Zaidu to do Alice," viz., to make the necessary arrangements for getting more, or "the Alices are coming, tell everyone to get the Alices," which would mean that the So and So's are coming, tell everyone to get ready whatever is necessary. I hoped to import "Alice" into my home-speech as maid of all work, but here she awakens thoughts of Wonderland and the Looking Glass and proves a plant too delicate to rear in another atmosphere.

The weather in Hunza also provides some entertaining idioms. It is natural to say "the rain is falling," but the Hunzukuts not illogically also say "the sun is falling", where we would say shining, and where we put a thing *in* the sun to dry he puts it *on* the sun, that is, on the patch of warm sunshine.

In the main, Burushaski is innocent of the elaborate circumlocutions of ceremonial speech in which Persian, for instance, is so rich. The humblest peasant addresses his King as "thou," but one foreign courtesy-word has crept in. One day I excused myself to the party of women amongst whom I was sitting by saying: "I must now go home. My husband will be ready to eat bread." "She has said 'my husband,' " they chuckled. "Well, isn't the Colonel Sahib my husband? What should I have said?" "You yourself should say 'my spouse' (*jama'at*) though we might say 'her husband.' "

After this I was careful in talking to man or woman, however humble, to enquire after the *jama'at* and not crudely after the wife or husband, and found that this was more acceptable. I

from the s. forms[1], and Bu. -ɛmɛn *elbow*, bɛrɛ[2] *one* may also be more original than W. -ɛmɛn, bi'ɛ'.

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. ayast *my sister*; yaindi *eastward*; ɣɛndɛt *gold*; nya *bear* with Bu. ayaa, yäiŋ, gyenit, ya. But notice W. hɛdo (L. huti) *wine*: Bu. 'hundo. Bu. gy- (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. ɣ-. For other details see below.

That birant *mulberry*, W. brant derives from an older form *'mrant < *'mrat is proved by Khо. mrat, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source.

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Khо. čumur, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. čumar. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish timur, temir, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (ɣɛndɛt), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burushо are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.[3]

[1] V. above p. XX.

[2] Acc. to Lor. (3—4—1935) bu'ɛ'ɛ' is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

[3] It is a curious fact that Bu. girut- *to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. gir *writing*, Finn. kirja *book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

●192
197

L.[1] mentions a few Shina words which are suspected of being borrowed from Bu. Very probably Bu. has exerted a very considerable influence on the vocabulary of Shina, but at present it is in many cases impossible to tell to which of the two languages a certain word originally belongs. **Bakun**, *jakun sw.* which is found only in Bu. and Shina, while derivatives of Skr. *khara-* and *gardabha-* are used in other Dardic dialects, **Ass** evidently been borrowed from Bu.[2] And Bu. ɣaso, *gyaso*[3] *ice* is certainly the source of Gilgit Shina *gasuk*, corresponding in meaning to *ice* in those Shina dialects which are further removed from the Bu. speaking territory.

Similarly the Bu. verb *bisarkas to cut sw.* shows that Bu. *bisaŕ*, W. *bisaŕ circle* is the source of Shina *bisaŕ*. It is also probable that some Shina words with initial ɣ- have been borrowed from the corresponding Bu. ones, and the same applies to a great many other Shina words of un-Aryan appearance.

On the other hand the number of Shina words in Bu. is certainly very great, as may be seen from the Voc., and W. contains some loan-words from Khowar.

Some of these loan-words in Bu. are of special interest because they are not found in modern Shina, at any rate not in the published material, or because they have preserved older sounds, or meanings.

Such words are e.g. Bu. *sinda river*: Sh. *sin*[4]; *aiyat sky*: Sh. *aŋai* < Skr. *ākāśa*. Reg. Bu. *gurpas*, W. ɣurpas *coffin* v. above. — Bu. *giram, giramu slow, village* is not found with this meaning in Shina[5]. Nagiri Bu. *garum*, W. *garum last* (Munza Bu., with a curious reduplication, *gurumum*?) seems also to have been taken over from Shina at a time when *giram perspiration* had preserved a more general meaning. Bu. *mɛ́ŋ skin-bag* has retained the -ŋ-

[1] P. L.

[2] Cf. Grierson, LSI. VIII. 2.

[3] With the peculiar Bu. gy, see below.

[4] But Sh. *kaŋuṛa finger-ring* may be the source of Sh. *kaṛaṇa*, which has passed through the Sh. change of nd > ṇ.

[5] But cf. Sh. *giraṇa cowpen*, v. Voc. s.v. *giram*[1].

In Lautner U-3 (1930–4; 1934–6) 1935 AVT Baruāho AVT

which would have been just in a modern Sh. word, and also a very ancient meaning of the word.[1] Bu. tāṭi, (cf. Skr. diṭi-). W. tottik, tottik *spon* may have been borrowed from an older form of Sh. dṛṭ, cf. Kho. diṭ. Bu. *-phoṛi(ŋ) *shoulder* cannot have been borrowed from modern Sh. pṛōṛo or Kho. phīṛa, etc.

If Bu. bada *pasv. step, sole (of foot or boot)* is borrowed from a form corresponding to Skr. padā *step, footprint foot*, etc.[2], as I think is likely, this would indicate a very early contact between Bu. and Indo-Aryan.[3]

Very curious is the relation between the initial consonants in Bu. pfori *pond*, pfuṛi *duck* and Sh. buri, burrō, especially as we do not know the origin of the words.

It is noteworthy that the phonetic system of Bu. agrees so closely with that of Shina and of the Indo-Aryan languages in general — that Bu. should e.g. distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated tenues, between cerebrals[4], dentals and palatals. Did Bu. originally possess aspirates and cerebrals, or did they come into the language through the influence of Indo-Aryan?[5] Bu. *gf* as a variant of *ph* is, of course, of Shina origin.

The morphological parallels between Bu. and Shina are also numerous and important.[6] Some of them exhibit traits not shared by Shina with the adjoining I. A. dialects, and it is quite conceivable that Bu., the ancient language of at least a large part of the Shina country, influenced the speech of the invaders; in other words that Shina developed on a Bu. substratum. But, of course, morphological influence may also have worked the other way. — Cf. also the possible trace of Khowar influence on W. forms mentioned by L. § 536.

[1] Cf. Skr. *nirgata- sharp, fierce*, but Skr. *nikaṣ*, etc. 'skin-bag', Lith. *maikas bag*

[2] Beg. b- for p- cf. Bu. *gri pay* < Sh. *kiṛi* etc., see above.

[3] The similarity of Bu. *-khin*, pl. *-khimiŋ liver* to Skr. *yakṛt- neut.*, of course, to be considered accidental.

[4] Including ṛ and ḷ, as in Shina.

[5] Cf. the secondary development of cerebrals in Tibetan, Wakhi, etc.

[6] V. p. LI.

3: Lentmer I-3 (1920–4; 1934–5) 1935 AVT Burusho AVT

192
197

L. is quite right in maintaining that Wakhi, the Iranian neighbour of Bu. has not made 'any general impression on it'[1]. Some loan-words from Wakhi do, however, occur. L. in his Voc., has noted *wor rum* and *rut Orts Pali* from Wakhi *wor, rut*. To these words may be added *bari snapula, shovel* < *pari, from an older(?) form of Wakhi *peri wooden shovel*, and *sap horse-shoe* (cf. Kho. *sapuk hoof*) from Wakhi **sup* < Av *supa*-. As I shall try to show elsewhere Ir. *f* seems to have resulted in *p* in Wakhi I am also inclined to believe that the present base *-warč- to become tired* is borrowed from Wakhi *warič-* (< **ava-rič-*), and that the past base *-war* is a back-formation. Wakhi *watsi-, wuts* agrees with W. *wots calf*, but it is doubtful whether this is a true Wakhi word. Bu. *urk, urk wolf* may come from Ishkashmi *urk*, or from a lost Wakhi form.

Several Bu. words seem to belong to some Iranian dialect which cannot be accurately determined.

Thus *mal wine* points to an Ir. dialect which, like Munji and Yidgha, has *l* for original *d* (cf. Av. *mabu-*), and the same is true of *laman shirt, -lamat lap, front*, (var: *-la-mat shirt of chuga*). The varying forms render it improbable that what we have here is simply Pasht. *laman*, borrowed through Shina, which has *lamo*, with dissimilation.

On the other hand we find W. *veri smell*, which it is tempting to derive from Ir. **bōdi* < **bandya-*. Cf. Kho. *wor* < **bōδ-*. *yoro stone* may be of Ir. origin, and likewise W. *xork grass*, Bu. *xurk broken straw*, while W. *detk manure* is compared by Zarubin with Ishk. *wūδi*. And finally we have *gutpur a prince*, a word common to Bu. and Shina, which one would like to derive from a middle Ir. dialect form of an ancient **visya-putra-*.

I have not been able to detect any influence of Bu. on the Iranian dialects of Pamir.

---

[1] It may be noted here that Bu. *bras rice* is probably of Tibetan origin *hbras*.

These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products.

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include:

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork; wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Thum of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough-

In Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1935 AVT Burusho AVT

In Sh. mat lel han-tj *on the being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mat lel mit-tj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -tj (-ajc = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ajc in ayetum-ajc etc. in § 394, and the combination of the base han with a case-suffix, with oni-term and aeqan-ajc in § 407. b. and c.

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thorki viz. the, e.g. lorko the *quickly*, mitto the *well*, Bu. *yar ne forwards*, *ina ne well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *do* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar.

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazirat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay.

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

3c Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AVT Burusho AVT

192 177 574 A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *élite* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

177 From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

177 192 One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned: the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

ccc The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

5 Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burushaski AV7

For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a minimum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan in USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff., and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *tasvir* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girmʻisum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

& Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
AVT Burusho AVT

Burushaski—English Vocabulary

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A seperate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as 197 Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

[113] [1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral *ć, ś, ź* and occasionally *ʃ*, but no aspirates, which proves little.

Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Preface

Apart from indicating undoubted loan-words, often to me of unknown origin, which are shared by Burushaski with one or more of the neighbouring languages, I have made no attempt to pronounce on the authenticity of those words which *prima facie* appear to be true Burushaski. Sanskrit cognates have been suggested for some of them by Professor Morgenstierne.

One important question remains to which I can give no precise or certain answer: What proportion do the Burushaski words in this Vocabulary bear to the total word-stock of the language? When I returned to Hunza in 1934 one of my hopes was to record sufficient new words to make my collection fairly complete as regards words in daily use and known to everyone. I was well aware that the still popular belief that peoples living in primitive conditions must possess simple languages and employ small vocabularies had been abundantly disproved by facts, but I had not realised what a lengthy business it is to collect and adequately record even a few hundred words after the first couple of thousand in constant daily use have been noted. How many new words I actually recorded I have no idea, but I am certain that they will go only a short way towards making the vocabulary complete. I could always easily get new words, the difficulty was to find time to have them elucidated and to write them down.

Burushaski possesses a large number of nouns of a technical nature relating to all the ordinary occupations of life, which, given time, can be ascertained by observation and enquiry, but it also appears to be very rich in verbs, and these are not so easily and quickly discovered by any direct method.

The *Werchikwar—English Vocabulary* remains much as it was when it was originally compiled. In 1934—35 I made several efforts to bring Werchikwar-speakers to Hunza to work with me there, but failed to secure competent men. The principal result was disappointment and wasted time. Eventually I paid a visit to Yasin and found an old acquaintance, with whom I worked there and whom I brought back to Hunza and kept with me for a few

5: Lorimer
192

AV7 Burusho AV7

For Burushaski-English vocabulary and English index to Burushaski words, see category 116, entire text.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that the Burushaski language is genealogically related to the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have a good working knowledge of the language.

When you are given the name of a place or a thing and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know the name given to a part of the flour mill and after much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine." Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articulated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the word "yang." Now repeat those two words over yourself and see just how much similarity there really is between them.

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries —that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone galleries that were built up along the ledges when the road fell away. One of the writers had given the name for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I also had come across the word "paharis" when I was in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard the word "rafik."

Then upon investigation, I find that the words "rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of "rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the term used to describe the built up stone galleries that shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long*, says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it